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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 H-03 SS-15 /028 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9933
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USNATO
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 12294

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SENATOR BYRD'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP, PEPR, ENRG, MARR, MPOL, US, GW
SUBJECT: SENATOR BYRD'S MEETING WITH MINISTER OF STATE
VON DOHNANYI

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: ON JULY 5, SENATOR BYRD MET FOR 45 MINUTES WITH FOREIGN OFFICE MINISTER OF STATE VON DOHNANYI. DISCUSSION CENTERED ON NATO (LTDP), DETENTE, AND US ENERGY POLICY. VON DOHNANYI ALSO COMMENTED ON THE STRENGTH AND IMPORTANCE OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. BOTH US AND FRG ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE THREE PERCENT GROWTH IN DEFENSE BUDGETS CALLED FOR UNDER THE LTDP. SENATOR BYRD REVIEWED THE STATUS OF US ENERGY LEGISLATION AND VON DOHNANYI EMPHASIZED FRG AND EUROPEAN HOPE THAT US ENERGY PROBLEMS, WHICH WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ROOT OF MANY CURRENT TRADE AND CURRENCY PROBLEMS, WOULD SOON BE UNDER CONTROL. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER THE GREETING BY MINISTER OF STATE VON DOHNANYI, SENATOR BYRD OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY THANKING THE FRG FOR ITS EXCELLENT COOPERATION IN ARRANGING HIS VISIT. HE HAD COME TO EUROPE, HE SAID, WEARING

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TWO HATS. IN ADDITION TO BEING MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE, PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASKED HIM TO BE HIS PERSONAL EMISSARY IN TALKS WITH THE US' ALLIES.

2. SENATOR BYRD TOLD VON DOHNANYI THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASKED HIM PERSONALLY TO CONVEY TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT THE PRESIDENT'S DEEPEST RESPECT. THE SENATOR AND HIS CONGRESSIONAL COLLEAGUES SHARED THIS SENTIMENT. BYRD CONTINUED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ALSO ASKED HIM TO REITERATE THE US' FULL AND SOLID SUPPORT FOR NATO AND THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP). THE US INTENDS TO MEET ITS COMMITMENT TO INCREASE ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AND FULLY EXPECTS ITS NATO PARTNERS TO DO LIKEWISE. KEEPING THIS COMMITMENT WAS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE AND SENATOR BYRD NOTED THAT HE HAD CONVEYED THE SAME MESSAGE TO HIS INTERLOCUTORS IN BRUSSELS AND LONDON. THAT ADMONITION, HOWEVER, DID NOT SEEM TO BE NECESSARY AS FAR AS THE FRG WAS CONCERNED.

3. SENATOR BYRD SAID HE ALSO WISHED TO CONVEY PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE THAT HE CONSIDERED THE SECURITY OF THE US AND EUROPE AND "ONE AND INSEPARABLE." THE US, BYRD SAID, WILL TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES ARE NECESSARY FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE THROUGH THE NATO ALLIANCE.

4. DONNING HIS HAT AS MAJORITY LEADER OF THE US SENATE, CONFIDENTIAL

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SENATOR BYRD TOLD VON DOHNANYI THAT HE AND HIS CONGRESSIONAL COLLEAGUES WERE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED WITH THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE SOVIET BUILDUP IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER. HE CONSIDERED THAT BUILDUP FORMIDABLE AND INSIDIOUS. IN THE SENATOR'S VIEW THE ONLY EFFECTIVE DETERRENT TO A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON EUROPE IS NATO. NATO HAD TO BE MADE STRONGER AND THEREBY A BETTER DETERRENT, BUT IF THAT DETERRENT SHOULD FAIL THE SENATOR AVOWED THAT THE USG AND CONGRESS WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET ANY NECESSARY FORCE LEVELS.

5. THE SENATOR SAID HE WANTED TO LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES STILL BELIEVED IN DETENTE. DETENTE, HOWEVER, WAS A TWO-WAY STREET AND NOT ONLY THE SOVIET BUILDUP IN EUROPE BUT ALSO SOVIET ADVENTURISM ELSEWHERE WERE CAUSING SERIOUS QUESTIONS TO BE RAISED. THE SENATOR CONCLUDED HIS INTRODUCTION BY INFORMING THE GERMAN SIDE THAT HE WAS MOST WILLING TO CONVEY THEIR VIEWS BACK TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE CONGRESS.

6. VON DOHNANYI, REPLYING TO SENATOR BYRD'S OFFER, SAID THAT THE DEFINITIVE VIEWS OF THE FRG AND ANY MESSAGE FOR

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THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE CONVEYED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, WHOM THE SENATOR WOULD BE MEETING SHORTLY THEREAFTER. VON DOHNANYI BEGAN HIS DISCOURSE WITH THE STATEMENT THAT HE WISHED TO UNDERLINE THE FACT THAT THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO QUESTION, IN BONN'S EYES, OF THE VALIDITY OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRG. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE HAS BEEN DEBATE ON IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP, SUCH AS SOME ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE ISSUES, VON DOHNANYI SAID THAT THE BASIC NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP HAD "NOT EVEN BEEN SCRATCHED."

7. GERMAN SUPPORT FOR THE LTDP REMAINED FIRM. VON DOHNANYI NOTED THAT THE FEDERAL CABINET WOULD BE DISCUSSING THE 1979 DEFENSE BUDGET LATER IN JULY (26-28 JULY) AND THAT THE THREE PERCENT REAL GROWTH IN DEFENSE SPENDING WOULD BE REALIZED.

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8. MOVING ON TO THE SUBJECT OF DETENTE, VON DOHNANYI OBSERVED THAT RECENT FRG CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIETS HAD CONFIRMED THAT THE SOVIETS REMAIN SERIOUSLY COMMITTED TO DETENTE. THAT DETENTE, HOWEVER, MUST BE ON THEIR OWN TERMS. FULL APPRECIATION OF SOVIET ATTITUDES ON DETENTE REQUIRED CAREFUL ANALYSIS. VON DOHNANYI NOTED THAT THE SOVIET BUILDUP IN EASTERN EUROPE OCCURRED IN THE PERIOD 1968-1970. SINCE THEN THE WORLD HAD CHANGED TREMENDOUSLY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS COULD NOT CONTEMPLATE A REPEAT OF THEIR 1968 INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WITHOUT LOSING FACE BEFORE THE ENTIRE WORLD. IN VON DOHNANYI'S VIEW, SOVIET MILITARY POTENTIAL HAD TO BE EVALUATED ON ITS OWN MERITS, BUT THE WEST MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE INTENT BEHIND THAT POTENTIAL. IN THIS RESPECT, VON DOHNANYI MENTIONED A RHETORICAL QUESTION HE HAD HEARD RAISED BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO BONN FALIN ASKING WHETHER SOVIET TANKS AND MEN IN EASTERN EUROPE MIGHT NOT BE A MATTER OF INTERNAL SECURITY. THE WEST MUST CONSIDER THIS ASPECT OF SOVIET POLICY AS WELL, VON DOHNANYI SAID. OTHERWISE, THE WEST WAS IN DANGER OF MISINTERPRETING SOVIET ACTIONS AND FALLING PREY TO UNWISE REACTIONS.

9. THERE MUST BE NO DOUBT, VON DOHNANYI SAID, ABOUT THE FRG'S COMMITMENT TO DETENTE. DETENTE IS THE VITAL ELEMENT IN GERMAN STRATEGY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. IN THIS REGARD, IN AN ASIDE IN WHICH NO NAMES WERE MENTIONED, VON DOHNANYI MADE AN OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO PUBLIC ALLEGATIONS ON THE "FINLANDIZATION" OF THE FRG. VON DOHNANYI NOTED THAT "THERE HAVE BEEN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES USED FOR POLITICAL OUTLOOKS WHICH ARE UNJUSTIFIED." THEY WERE NOT EVEN APPROPRIATE, IN HIS VIEW, EVEN WHERE THEY HAD HISTORICALLY BEEN USED; MOREOVER, THERE WAS NO CONFIDENTIAL

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DOUBT THAT THEY DID NOT APPLY TO THE FRG. THIS WAS NOT AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE FRG'S APPROACH TO THE FRG'S FOREIGN POLICY.

10. TURNING TO AFRICA, VON DOHNANYI SAID THAT THE WEST HAD MADE A GRAVE ERROR IN FORCING THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE TO TURN TO THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES FOR WEAPONS. HE ADVISED THAT WESTERN LEADERS SHOULD REREAD THE HISTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION TO OBSERVE THE EFFECTS OF FORCING SOMEONE INTO A POSITION HE DOES NOT REALLY WANT. IN REGARD TO THE HORN, TOO LATE DID THE WEST RECOGNIZE THAT THE HORN CONFLICT WAS

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A MATTER OF INTEGRITY OF BORDERS AND BEGIN TO CRITICIZE SOMALI AGGRESSION. THE WEST MUST LEARN THAT, TO THE AFRICANS, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WAS OFTEN MORE IMPORTANT AND LONG-LASTING THAN ABSTRACTIONS SUCH AS ALLIANCES AND IDEOLOGIES.

11. REITERATING THAT THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO DOUBT ABOUT THE FRG'S COMMITMENT TO GROWTH IN THE DEFENSE SECTOR, VON DOHNANYI CAUTIONED THAT THE WEST MUST OBSERVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST EUROPE AND AFRICA WITHOUT ALWAYS INTERPRETING AS AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS ENDANGERING WESTERN INTERESTS. VON DOHNANYI CONCLUDED THAT WE MUST STEER THE COURSE OF DETENTE AND NOT LOCK OURSELVES INTO A REACTION/OVER REACTION CYCLE.

12. COMMENTING THAT HE WAS NOW SPEAKING AS A SENATE MAJORITY LEADER, SENATOR BYRD REITERATED WHAT HE HAD SAID EARLIER TO THE EFFECT THAT HE AND HIS CONGRESSIONAL COLLEAGUES VIEW WITH GREAT APPREHENSION THE SOVIET BUILDUP. THE CONGRESS TRIES NOT TO OVER REACT BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, DOES NOT WANT TO BE CAUGHT UNAWARES. MANY IN CONGRESS DO NOT TRUST THE SOVIETS AND BELIEVE

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 H-03 SS-15 /028 W
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THE SOVIETS HAVE LITTLE INTEREST IN LIVING UP TO AN AGREEMENT THAT IS NOT TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. IN THIS RESPECT SALT II WOULD BE A GREAT TEST. SENATOR BYRD TOLD VON DOHNANYI THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASKED HIM TO SAY THAT SALT MUST BE VIEWED AS WELL FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE US' ALLIES; "OUR INTERESTS ARE YOUR INTERESTS." SENATOR BYRD NOTED THAT THE SENATE HAD THE LAST WORD ON ANY SALT TREATY AND THAT MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES FELT THAT SALT I HAD NOT BEEN A GOOD TREATY. ANY NEW SALT AGREEMENT WAS GOING TO BE INSPECTED VERY CLOSELY BEFORE RATIFICATION. THAT PROCESS WAS LIKELY TO BE MORE CONTENTIOUS AND PROLONGED THAN THE EXAMI-NATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. THE SENATE, TOO, WOULD WANT TO ENSURE THAT WESTERN EUROPEAN INTERESTS WERE WELL PROVIDED FOR IN ANY SALT AGREEMENT.

13. VON DOHNANYI REPLIED THAT THE FRG SHARED FULLY
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THE US OBJECTIVES ON SALT II AND AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A GOOD TREATY. HE PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED THE SENATOR'S ASSURANCE THAT ANY SALT TREATY WOULD NOT BE VIEWED ONLY AS A BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

14. TURNING THE TOPIC TO ENERGY, SENATOR BYRD MENTIONED HIS IMPRESSION THAT CONGRESS HAD BEEN DEPICTED IN THE US AND ABROAD AS BLOCKING PRESIDENT CARTER'S ENERGY PROGRAM. THIS, HE SAID, WAS COMPLETELY FALSE. PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SENT THE CONGRESS A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL ENERGY BILL WHICH THE SENATE BELIEVED COULD BE IMPROVED UPON. FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PACKAGE HAS ALREADY BEEN EXAMINED AND PASSED. ONLY ONE MAJOR ELEMENT, THE QUESTION OF A TAX ON ENERGY, REMAINED TO BE WORKED OUT. RECOGNIZING THAT THE FRG IS VERY INTERESTED IN THE US ENERGY POLICY, ESPECIALLY AS THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT APPROACHES, SENATOR BYRD REITERATED THAT CONGRESS WAS NOT BLOCKING OR STALLING ON THE ENERGY BILL. CONGRESS, HE SAID, WOULD DELIVER. SENATOR BYRD OFFERED VON DOHNANYI HIS PERSONAL PREDICTION THAT AN ENERGY BILL WILL BE ON THE PRESIDENT'S DESK READY FOR SIGNATURE WELL BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR. THAT BILL WILL CONTAIN AT LEAST FOUR

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OF THE FIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PACKAGE. IN ADDITION, HE HOPED THAT IT WOULD INCLUDE SOMETHING ON THE ENERGY TAX AS WELL.

15. WHILE HE WAS GRATIFIED TO LEARN OF THIS PROGRESS, VON DOHNANYI AFFIRMED THAT, TO THE FRG, THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE US ENERGY POLICY WAS ITS EFFECT ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND CURRENCY FLUCTUATIONS. SENATOR BYRD AGREED THAT THIS FACTOR WAS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO HIM AS WELL AND THE MEETING CONCLUDED ON
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